1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate.

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu.

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor.

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1]

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were inbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was opposite the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

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HANASHIRO	MATSUDA
TENTH MONTH (Oct 30-Nov 28)	
221 241 Possible beginning of second rice harvest, though this is early. Planting rice in seed bed. Sow sweet potato slips.	Sow peas (endō-mame) and beans. Plant sweet potato slips if rain. Sow giant radish (daikon), tomatoes, barley. Weeding of radishes, and vegetables planted previous month until the 25th. Rice cutting begins.
ELEVENTH MONTH (Nov 29-Dec 27)	
Continuation of the rice harvest. Threshing and milling. Planting of sugar cane, slantwise. Sow cabbage seed. Rice seed planting begins, or continues if begun in the 10th month.	Rice cutting and harvest. Threshing and milling. Rice fields dug up. Preparation of new fields.
TWELFTH MONTH (Dec 28-Jan 26)	
Sugar making. Sow Irish potatoes (bareisho) but in small quantities	Continue digging up rice fields. Rice sown in seed beds after seed testing. Sugar making may begin.

YEAR ROUND ACTIVITIES

Sweet Potato Planting, Transplanting and Harvesting continues throughout the year, depending on time and distribution of rainfall.

4

Rice Cultivation

243 Growing rice is a most exacting task. The period from the time the seed bed is prepared until the final milling is one of tedious work and continuous apprehension. The reaction of Okinawan farmers to rice cultivation perhaps was best summed up by a Matsuda farmer who said, "Everyone dislikes the work, but rice is delicious." [461] [262]

Assuming that the field is already in existence, the cultivation of rice may be divided into the following stages: (1) preparation and laying out of the seed bed, (2) selection of the seed, (3) transplanting

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Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity. 226 [596] 607

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom. 226 593 [183]

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields. 226 241 [923]

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagano, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays. 226 324 463

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a 226 96 [132]

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month. The decline in opportunity is due, not to the weather, but to the scarcity of fish, which are said to move from these coastal waters during the winter season.

The fishermen follow the lunar calendar. The type of fish caught is determined by the season. There is some specialization based on age and experience. Only the skilled and relatively young can successfully make a living diving for the lobster and disengaging him from the rocks below. The most intense activity is during the summer months, and the cash earnings of the fishermen are greatest at this time.

Fishermen pay attention to the weather and to the moon. Part of their weather knowledge comes from traditional lore, part from observation, part from the modern storm warning systems. Fishermen do not go out if there are storm clouds overhead, especially if they are moving fast. The worst sign is an increase in the height of the waves, even if the weather is good. The phases of the moon are also considered. The half moon is the best, the quarter moon is good, but neither a full moon nor a moonless night is considered favorable. The exception is fishing for white cuttle fish, caught on winter moonlit nights. At present, official storm warning signals are universally observed. The red flag flying from a pole on the main street near the breakwater is enough to keep every fisherman at home. This faith in meteorology has not always existed. Even in recent years, fishermen have disregarded the warnings because of disbelief, or ignored them when storms did not appear following a previous warning.

Fishing in the Hinatogawa area is coastal (if we include distances up to twelve miles out) and is on a small scale. Much of the gear is improvised by the fishermen themselves. The methods are simple and effective, and the boats are small. This is not one of the most important fishing areas in Ryukyuan waters.[1]

Men become fishermen by imitating their skilled elders. Knowledge of the fish and of the waters is imparted by word of mouth. The old men are the sources of the detailed knowledge of the currents and of the main fishing grounds, and this knowledge, held in the memory, is also transmitted orally. There are no maps or charts. Usually it takes a beginner about two years to become acquainted with the fishing areas, and about three years to have a working knowledge of the currents.

1 For a general discussion, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu Area. (U.S. Dept. of the Interior. Fish and Wildlife Service. Fishing Leaflet 333), Washington, 1949. This work has an interesting collection of maps and drawings of various types of nets. It is not concerned with particular areas in Okinawa, nor with customs connected with fishing.

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8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

316 425 435 (1951-52) is from Y300-400 per tsubo (about four square yards), much higher than ordinary agricultural land. The price varies with supposed quality. The good judgment of the purchaser is necessary for success. He must estimate the quantity of stone, its depth, whether there may be cracks, fissures, or black streaks below, and the effect of underground water as he cuts down deeper. In a year, a good stonecutter can remove stone from about four tsubo of land. If he has extra capital, he may hire help.

316 472 The types of employment found are either the single operator or the small operator who has one or more employees. The industry is not notable for large capital outlays, or many employees of a single operator. A simple partnership is common. There may be some division of labor, with the owner of the rights doing all the cutting, while a friend or relative who does this as a secondary occupation assists in the removal of the stone and in loading it on a horse cart. The operator who has a piece of land too large to work by himself may hire someone. The employee (yatoi in Japanese, ninpu in Okinawan) is paid according to skill: Y100 [965] a day for a beginning 17 or 18 year old boy, Y150 to the experienced, and Y200 to the worker who can do all phases of the work quickly and skillfully.

[804] [961] [965] Much depends on the nature of the stone being worked. This varies by locality and with moisture content. It will require 8 hours for a man to cut a six shaku (about six feet) length of hard rock 1 shaku 2 sun (14.4 inches) deep, but he may be able to make three cuttings of moist or wet rock in the same period. Working time naturally varies with the strength and skill of the cutter. For this reason, piece work payment is common. The employee, however, may work unused portions of the holdings, receiving two-thirds of the value of the stone cut.

3

Tools and Types of Stone Cut

413 Six tools are used in cutting and extracting the sandstone: (1) the hichi (Okinawan). This tool, about six feet long, resembles a crow bar, but has a sharp chisel edge for cutting the stone. (2) A sharp hand axe (ono in Japanese, yūki in Okinawan) for chipping and finishing, (3) the ishiyūki, a smaller axe, used like the yūki, for chipping and finishing but principally in shaping pyramidal stones (kenchi). The tool is also used to knock off the rough edges of the stone, where it has been split, an operation often performed by old men. (4) The kusukacha (Okinawan). This reminds one of a small light golf iron. It has a handle four or five feet long with a metal strip attached at an angle to one end. It is used to rake off chippings and dust that accumulate in the groove while the cut is being made with the long chisel. (5) Wedges (iya in Okinawan), and (6) sledge hammers are used to split off the stone after the cut has been made.

316 Methods of working with these tools are very simple. The surface dirt is cleared away until the stone to be cut is visible and clean.

565 A common device among noble families was to vary the second
553 character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Chokeii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

[556]

621 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited
208 by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs?
212 First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers, ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

[461] [565] [963]

132 however, shows much less variation. From the low 50's in early winter it rises to the low 80's in midsummer. The relative humidities, having daily means of 70% in January and February and 82% in July and August, may often reach an uncomfortable 96% preceding or following one of the many rain squalls in the hot season.

From January through March, winds blowing from the northwest to north carry cold, damp air from the Asian continent across the East China Sea. Although many houses in Taira are somewhat protected by bushes separating them from the open valley behind, nevertheless, house doors are often kept shut during this coldest part of the year.

March and April offer a pleasant, balanced climate. Winds are east to southeast, rainfall is low, and temperatures reach the high 60's. The rainy season begins in late May and lasts until late June. During these [964] four weeks it sometimes rains steadily for one or two days, and adults are forced to give up working.

Children take shelter during the worst downpours, but they reappear outside even before the rains are over to play in puddles or little streams running down the streets. During this time floods and landslides occur.

Midsummer is often so hot and humid that villagers frequently comment on their discomfort. This is one of the busiest agricultural seasons, but exhaustion causes many people to take naps during noon [961] [513] hours. Work efficiency decreases, and fewer daily trips are made to the mountains. Children also stay at home in the afternoon. It is believed that the heat causes severe headaches. The hot season gradually gives way to a few weeks in late October, November, and early December which correspond in climate to an early fall in northeastern United States.

132 Typhoons are known to have hit Okinawa at almost any time of 731 the year. The most dangerous season for these violent storms, however, with wind velocities of over 50 miles per hour, is from late June [206] until October. An extensive warning system exists, and Taira, though remote and without radio, is notified immediately by telephone of storm warnings, sometimes days in advance. Taira people hardly need such warnings. They can sense the oncoming storm and often predict one correctly before the official forecasts confirm that a storm is approaching the island. Since 1955 was one of the rare years in which no major storm hit the island, no firsthand description can be given. The damage is always considerable, not only to crops and trees but also to houses and other property.

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation.

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen.

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day.

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too.

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening.

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the

512 461 [855] [962] care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visiting back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

[504]

512 [231] 512 515 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being prepared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women, young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 [231] [938] Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[883]

This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 264 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the evening meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 262 264 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old peo-
[593] ple who expect them to continue bearing children until three male heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers circulate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; how-
[732] ever . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion
[848] is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be." explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation
● [461] reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[522] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of pregnancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

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women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves."

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits.

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman.

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains.

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort.

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery.

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

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There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep.

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene.

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby.

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains

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Taira

before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

2. Rural Industries

178 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth
438 in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the
543 war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refin-
257 eries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the
257 war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one per-
461 son per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and
471 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Ag-
257 ricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in
[433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the
[439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed
433 grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis
[178] of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegusuku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-